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Names are transferred to boys through the matrilineal line, to girls through the patrilineal line. This contrasts with Apinayé usage, by which names are transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son and from maternal aunt to sister's daughter.[596] Normally the Canella name passes on to the next younger generation, but often one or even two generations are skipped and occasionally when the age difference is considerable the transfer may take place within a generation. The *ideal* arrangement is to have a maternal uncle convey his names to his nephew while the paternal aunt transfers hers to her niece. But of twenty-eight cases genealogically traced only five strictly conformed to this norm. The deviations result at least in part from the insistence on reciprocity. Unless the uncle has a daughter to whom his sister could pass on her own names, she would not permit the transfer of names to her son. Instead she would look for a more remote kinsman, with whom a *reciprocal* transfer could be arranged. The degree of kinship is often very remote in these name transfers. Adopted kindred are reckoned exactly as though they were blood kin in these negotiations. Pųkín transferred her name to the daughter of her adoptive brother, Hąktõkót; Tempe gave his to the son of his adoptive sister, Terekwę'i.

Copaternity has its effect in this respect. At Patkwei's birth her mother Kopkré indicated not only her husband, but also Hukraino as the infant's father because he had had extramarital relations with her during pregnancy. Accordingly both observed the couvade, and each considers himself Patkwei's father. In consequence Patkwei is the sister of Hukraino's legal son, Kroyamri, and passed on her name to his daughter, while Kroyamri gave *his* name to Patkwei's son. Similarly, at Pukara's birth, both Kokcet, her mother's husband, and Kokanara, who had been her paramour, kept the couvade. Pukara thus became the sister of Kokanara's son, Ropką', and passed her name on to his daughter.

As a rule a single donor transfers his names to a single recipient. But if the donor dies before passing on all his names, another person takes his place, now transferring his own names to the recipient. In this fashion several persons change their membership in the plaza groups or rainy season moieties or both. If an individual owns names of different sets, he almost always transfers those of one set to one recipient, the others to a second person. The recipient thus acquires once more names belonging together. A typical sample of this process is furnished by Yoro, who owned eight names belonging to three plaza groups and both rainy season moieties. He thus distributed them among four relatives:

Names	Plaza groups (w., western; e., eastern)	Rainy season moiety	Relatives
Yõ'ro	Dwarf Parrot (w)	atų'k	1
Ropką'	Ditto	atų'k	1
Põnjpõ'k	Ditto	atų'k	2
Pąrkaą'	Alien Tribe (w)	ką'	3
Hąktõkót	Giant Snake (e)	ką'	4
Tepkakrõ'	Ditto	ką'	4
Tepnót	Ditto	ką'	4
Vaurẽ'	Ditto	ką'	4

I found no case in which the same donor passed on ką' and atų'k names to the same kinsman; on the other hand, in three instances the same person passed on

[596] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 22.

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the names of different plaza groups—in one case, even of distinct plaza moieties—to the same recipient.

Of twenty males, only four acquired their names from several donors. On the other hand, half of an equal number of females obtained theirs in this fashion, though only a single case involved a change of the rainy season moiety.

The woman numbered 20 below obtained the name Kra'napan, by which she is generally known, from the neighboring Krẽyé of Bacabal. This name is not to be transferred.

The list on pages 80, 81, and 82 gives the name series of twenty men and of twenty women with plaza group and rainy season moiety affiliations. Those names transferred by a single person are bracketed.

Some additional facts concerning name transference are given below.

Mĩkrõ'-Kapẽrtụ'k-Koprekré transferred his first name to the son of his sister's daughter. He hoped to pass on his other names to two other great-nephews, but had only one other, Čikapró, who had already received a name from another kinsman. After his great-uncle's death Mĩkrõ' junior claimed the two remaining names without himself using them, but with the prerogative of transferring them.

Terekwẹ'i-Piekóm passed on her first name to her paternal grandfather's daughter's son's daughter and died before being able to transfer the second. Terekwẹ'i junior claims the name Piekóm, but it must die with her because her brother's daughters have already all received names from other kinswomen.

Wakái did not pass his name on to his sister's son because he had no daughter on whom his sister Piekạ'ra might bestow her names.

Yaučẽkẹ' did not transfer her name to her brother's daughter because she died before her niece's birth.

Exogamous Moieties

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Each of these moieties occupies one-half of the village—the kọ'ikateye (kọ'i = east, hence: those of the east) the eastern part of the circle, the harą̃'kateye (harą̃ = west, hence: those of the west) the western part, which in Ponto was somewhat larger. The children all belong to the mother's moiety. Although about a third of contemporary marriages are within the same moiety and the younger generation in part even deny the reality of the exogamous rule, the older people deprecate such shamelessness and the preponderance of exogamous unions among them proves that the principle survived until not very long ago.

The moieties are altogether equal in rank; specifically, the eastern moiety is in no way superior. Unlike the Šerénte equivalents the Canella units are not associated with sun and moon. Further, members are not distinguished by any external badges, and there is no trace of totemism.

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The moieties under discussion centered solely in the maintenance of exogamy; their ceremonial significance is practically nil. Their decadence is probably due not so much to Neobrazilian influence or the diminishing population as to the pronounced predilection of the Canella for special dual divisions in connection with ceremonial. Comparison with the organization of other tribes suggests that the functions now allotted to the rainy season and the plaza moieties, respectively, were formerly associated with the *exogamous* moieties. The creation of independent dual divisions for these purposes inevitably stripped the exogamous halves of much of their importance.

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Snethlage erroneously ascribes a separate chief to each of the moieties and wrongly regards the age classes as their subdivisions, whereas any one age class embraces members of both moieties. It is not true that the first and the second chiefs

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The members of a house community of the type described are obviously closer to one another than to outsiders at large, but they fail to constitute a definite economic unit among the Timbira. The plantations of the residents are ordinarily in juxtaposition, but every married woman has her own plots and the house community as such has no property apart from the domicile.

However, the entire group will safeguard the individual's rights against any injustice from the outside. On one occasion, for example, a man treated his wife badly and deserted her, whereupon her extended family met for prolix deliberations and tried to force the renegade to pay an indemnity. In this sense the safety of the individual rests on his affiliation with the major family, and during disputes one often hears such threats as: "I have a large body of kindred." To tell a man to his face that he lacks kin is an affront.

On the other hand, the house community plays not the slightest role in ceremonial. Further it lacks a genuine head. Theoretically the grandmother should occupy that position, but this obtains in a small minority of cases because with increasing age her daughters grow dominant. Actually the main part devolves on some matrilineal grandfather or uncle, who may not even live in the house. A matriarchate and the enslavement of women are notions equally foreign to the Timbira.

Snethlage has correctly grasped the nature of this unit.[176]

Rainy Season Moieties[177]

During the meipimrą'k period, that is, from September to April—in other words, roughly during the rainy season—there are no major festivals. It is accompanied by a distinctive dual division which coincides with neither the exogamous moieties, nor the plaza moieties, nor the age-class moieties—notwithstanding the fact that it, too, is connected with the antithesis of east and west. The two groups are called ką'makra and atų'kmakra, that is, people (kra) of the plaza (ką') and people from without (atų'k). The Indians are unable to explain these designations. The female members are termed ką'kwęiye and atų'kkwęiye.

All of nature is antithetically divided between the two groups, as indicated by the following incomplete scheme.

kąmakra		atų'makra	
East	Fire	West	Firewood
Sun	Earth	Moon	Water
Day	Red color	Night	Black color
Dry season		Rainy season	

This dichotomy does not involve the opposition of the sexes, but extends to animals and plants: all species that are black or show marked black coloring fall into the atų'k category; all those conspicuously red or white are ką'. Maize and manioc are ką', the sweet potato and cucurbit atų'k; yams are, according to the species, divided up between the two groups. The Indians justify the allocation of the celestial bodies by referring to the sun's rising in the east and to the new moon's in the west.

Affiliation with a rainy season moiety hinges on a person's names, which inevitably place him in one or the other category. The name sets are transferred by the same principle that determines allocation to a plaza group; a man transfers his

[176] Meine Reise, 464. Nordostbras. Ind., 170.

[177] It may in the future prove useful in ethnological literature to call "nonexogamous" moieties "agamic" or "agamous." These terms, already in vogue among biologists, would better designate moieties that are neither exogamous nor endogamous. R. H. L.

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553 names to a sister's son, a woman to her brother's daughter. However, the sets of the
616 kạ'makra and the atụ'kmakra differ from those of the plaza groups, as well as from
611 those hereditary within an exogamous moiety. Actually, only five out of twenty-eight cases genealogically examined literally conformed to the ideal pattern. In practice, one generation, or even two, may be skipped in favor of a younger kinsman; and occasionally there is a transfer within the same generation if the individuals affected are separated by a considerable disparity of age. The deviations from the ideal scheme are connected with a principle of reciprocity already explained (p. 78).

In the process of name transference a person may change his rainy season moiety affiliation. A paternal aunt had transferred to her brother's daughter the kạ' name Kentapí, but died before being able to convey her other names to the girl. As a result another patrilineal kinswoman took the deceased aunt's place; but she was atụ'k, hence the first name, Nyõkí, which she conveyed to the girl automatically made the niece an atụ'kkwẹiye.

616 The moieties now under discussion differ in decorative paint. The kạ'makra are
302 distinguished by a red angle whose apex lies at the upper end of the breastbone, while the sides terminate on the shoulders; furthermore, by horizontal black lines on the body and limbs. The atụ'kmakra lack the angle, and substitute vertical black lines.

616 The kạ' battle cry is "wa-wa-wa!" that of the atụ'kmakra "kẹ-kẹ-kẹ!" The birth
851 of a new kạ' or atụ'k boy is thus heralded by the maternal uncle or grandmother's brother who is to pass on his names to the infant: this man steps outside the door and calls loudly the characteristic rainy season cry.

616 Each group is headed by a commandant appointed by the council, and his mother's house becomes the place of assembly for the membership. The kạ' headman bears the title of ikạ'rkate (kạ'ra = ready), that is, he who is ready; the atụ'k counterpart is called kačũnkate, a term that has remained untranslatable.

616 The practical significance of this dichotomy is restricted to the log races and
527 hunting trips of the meipimrạ'k period. In the races the male members of the opposing halves—in one instance, the women too—constitute the teams. A race takes place the very first day after the close of the ceremonial period (see p. 168). Not until after this race are the men of the two groups properly divided in the plaza, where all sit down in a circle, whose eastern half is occupied by the kạ'makra, while the atụ'kmakra are on the western side. For the songs the best kạ' log racer beats time with his coiled-up rattle girdle.

Then follow the log races, but in a very different manner from the first one just described. At first the kạ'makra as challengers make the logs, the first pair not exceeding about 12 cm. in diameter and a somewhat lesser length. With each successive race the size rapidly increases until after about a fortnight the normal dimensions are attained, that is, about 50 cm. in diameter and 1 m. in length. The first pair of the kạ'makra has red longitudinal lines on the surface and on each terminal plane there is a concentric red patch, whereas the atụ'k equivalent has a wide diametric black stripe.

As soon as the kạ' logs have attained normal size the challenging henceforth devolves on the atụ'kmakra until the close of the rainy season. The first atụ'k pair is, if possible, even of lesser diameter than the first kạ' logs, but the length is greater, being close to 1 m. from the start. The decorative painting of the initial atụ'k pair is as described above.

000 Both groups, including female members, several times join in hunting trips

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Membership is not transferred from maternal uncle to sister's son, but goes with the honorary chieftainship of an alien Timbira tribe. When one Timbira group visits another, the hosts glue falcon down on one of the guests, preferably a young man, paint him with urucú, and make him present himself before the councilors in the plaza with a bowlful of food. By this rite he becomes their honorary chief, mehõpa'hí, which is reckoned a great distinction. This ceremony always takes place shortly before sunset, the time when the girls are singing and the elders assembling in the plaza. At a return visit to their erstwhile guests, the former hosts look up the man thus chosen, who billets them on his mother or wife or both, charging himself with their entertainment.

In 1930 Vicente Kratpẽ', the chief of the Krahõ', who had incurred the animosity of the Apinayé, made an offer of peace and amity through me. In dictating the message to me, he explicitly referred to their having appointed his son a courtesy chief and urged them to visit their mehõpa'hí.[100] In 1931 the Guajajára paid their first visit to the Rąmkõ'kamekra, who chose one of their young men as honorary chief. He was probably little pleased with the consequences of his elevation, for henceforth whole bands of Rąmkõ'kamekra would descend upon him for continuous and prolonged visits.

In short, it is an honorary chief's duty to provide food for the members of the tribe by which he has been honored. Of the four tribal groups united at Ponto—the predominant Rąmkõ'kamekra, the Čą'kamekra, the Krõ'rekamekra, and the Karẽkateye—each has one or more of these courtesy chiefs in each of the others—the more, the better in the interest of their food supply. It is the totality of these courtesy chiefs, who in 1931 numbered thirty-four, that constitutes the order of King Vultures; and since the tribal chiefs are hąmrén, the title is extended likewise to the tamhą'k.

This is the only way of becoming a King Vulture. It does happen frequently that as a man grows older his electors choose his sister's son as successor to his aging uncle because youth is deemed essential for the magical practices of the order. But the specific relationship is inessential. In one case a son was appointed to supersede his father, and other youths were chosen though neither their fathers nor their uncles had ever been tamhą'k. This principle applies also to the post of leader of the order.

Adopted by a Čą'kamekra family, I am classed accordingly in the village. Čątú, my hąpínpéy (see p. 100), is a Rąmkõ'kamekra proper and in 1930 had me initiated as tamhą'k by his tribe.

A King Vulture ought to be generous to his electors and to conform in every way to native standards of conduct. If he returns with game and meets a member of the tribe that has honored him, he deposits his spoils before him as a gift and silently departs. All tamhą'k give presents to the groups that have chosen them as courtesy chiefs. On the other hand, when people at large have killed game, the King Vultures (like the other hąmrén) share in the first portions distributed. The ideal behavior expected of a tamhą'k seems to be also imposed on his next of kin: an Indian who had deserted his wife without just cause was reminded of his son's quite recent admission to the King Vultures.

Initiation may occur at a very early age, say, from six to ten years on, so that the order includes many lads and no really old men.

The magic of this order rests on the belief that the King Vultures, especially if young and vigorous, beneficially influence activities they inaugurate and objects

[100] Nimuendajú, The Apinayé, 19 f.